WHO NATO KILLED

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Tells the Fact and Names the Names

CounterPunch

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War Diary III: The Cost

The deal brokered by Nato's errand boy Viktor Chernomyrdin on June 2 was virtually identical to that offered by Milosevic to Nato before the bombing started. The sole purpose of the bombing was to demonstrate to Serbia and to the world Nato's capacity to bomb, thus killing nearly 2,000 civilians, destroying much of Serbia's infrastructure, prompting the expulsion and flight of around a million Kosovars. Wars have been triggered by the frailest of excuses and prolonged by the flimsiest of rationales, but the Cowards' War, as Nicholas von Hoffman aptly christened it, is hard to beat for the effrontery of its presumptions.

The Rambouillet negotiations lasted from February 6 to February 23. The so-called "contact group" of Nato powers - US, Germany, France, Italy and UK - pushed for Kosovar autonomy, guaranteed by the presence of Nato troops. Unrevealed at the time was a secret Appendix B to the deal presented by Nato to the Serbs on the final day. Not only were Nato troops to occupy Kosovo, but these troops were to have the right to "free and unrestricted passage and unimpeded access throughout the FRY (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia)....This shall include, but not be limited to, the right of bivouac, maneuver, billet and utilization of any areas or facilities as required for support, training, and operations." This language comes in Article 8 of Nato's secret demand in Appendix B. Article 10 allowed Nato cost-free use of all Yugoslav streets, airports and ports. In other words Nato was insisting that Yugoslavia surrender sovereignty.

Nato was setting impossible conditions, certain that Milosevic and indeed every Serb would find them impossible to accept. A senior State Department official boasted of this at the time in deep background briefings of US reporters, saying that the US "had deliberately set the bar higher than the Serbs could accept" and that "they need some bombing and that's what they're going to get".

The final offer of the Serbs was for Kosovar autonomy, to be guaranteed by a UN force with a Russian component. A Nato presence in Serbia was unacceptable. The Nato powers rejected this. Serbia refused to sign the Rambouillet agreement and so did the Kosovars, until forced to by Nato powers on March 18. On March 24 the bombing began.

On June 2 the deal agreed to by Milosevic and the Serb parliament was for a UN force with a Russian component, plus a Nato force, plus Kosovar autonomy within the Yugoslav federation. The unstated agenda seems to be the partitioning of Kosovo. The KLA will supposedly be "demilitarized" and Yugoslav troops allowed at some point to return in limited numbers to Kosovo. (The ultimate, though most certainly unrealizable, Nato favor to Milosevic.) No international force either under UN or Nato auspices will enter Serbia. The Kosovar refugees will be able to return, but that was never a sticking point so far as Milosevic was concerned.

Nato forced a war and ended up with essentially the deal that could have been signed in late February. There will be some Nato helmets alongside the UN blue helmets in Kosovo, but only after a Cowards War would this be called victory.

This was the Cowards' War, bombing a country for two and a half months from 30,000 feet. It was the Liberals' War waged by social democracy's best and brightest, intent on proving once again that wars can be fought with the best and most virtuous of intentions: the companion volume to Hillary Clinton's "It Takes a Village" turns out to be "It Takes An Air Force," though Bill will no doubt claim

(**War Diary** *continued on page 2*)

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one day it wasn't his idea and he only partly went along with Sandy Berger, Strobe Talbott and Madeleine Albright because he wanted to "preserve my political viability", the words he used in his famous draft-dodging shuffle in the Vietnam era. But war eroded his viability. Americans who had supported Bill's right to remain president even though he had kissed Monica Lewinsky began to turn sharply against him when he bombed Serbian schools.

Just as Social Democratic parties across Europe voted for war in 1914, so did they again in 1999. In Britain social democrats rallied to the pipsqueak bombardier, Tony Blair. There were honorable exceptions: Tony Benn and Yorkshire Labor Member of Parliament Alice Mahon who went to Belgrade and to Novi Sad and stood on the bridge with - as she later described - twelve nationalities including Albanians, defying Nato's bombers. Another fine Labor MP, Tam Dyell, was a spirited opponent. So was Harold Pinter, whose denunciation we excerpted in a recent CounterPunch. So was our friend Tariq Ali, a veteran of the Sixties' anti-Vietnam War campaigns. The two leading liberal papers, The Observer and The Guardian, both favored the war.

In France most intellectuals fell into line behind Nato, though once again there were exceptions, notably Regis Debray, who went to Macedonia, Belgrade and

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The sequel to Hillary's It Takes a Village turns out to be It Takes an Air Force.

Kosovo and wrote an eloquent anti-war polemic which Le Monde put on its front page. Debray was then savaged by France's liberal intellectuals, including a vitriolic assault in Liberation.

In Germany there was increasing division, even in the Social Democratic Party. After Economics Minister Oskar Lafontaine resigned rather than support the war, he also quit as leader of the Party. Though chancellor Schroeder ran for this position unopposed, fully 30 percent of the delegates at a special Social Democratic Party convention voted against him. There was also great dissension among the Greens against the conduct of foreign minister Joschka Fischer.

In Italy the resistance was strongest. There was a demonstration of 130,000 in Rome in late May, with the red banners of the Rifundazione Party of leftists paired bravely with the white banners of the Catholic boy scouts. The famous leftist Rosanna Rosanda appealed publicly in Il Manifesto for Italian soldiers to desert, if required to fight in Yugoslavia. She received much public support. The pope flayed the war in his Easter Greeting, which was dropped from Britain's broadcasts. The pope described Nato's bombing as an "act of diabolical retribution". From a man of God what stronger words could come?

Here in the US the war found almost all Democrats in Congress marshaled for war. The heroic exceptions were 26 Democrats in the House, led by Dennis Kucinich of Ohio - himself of Irish-Croat ancestry - who leagued with a majority of House Republics twice to deny Clinton legitimation for his war. Most liberals favored the bombing. One tawdry spectacle was that of Christopher Hitchens plainly loth directly to endorse a war waged by the man he has been denouncing as incapable of any decent or legitimate act, but taking the sneakier expedient of attacking opponents of the war such as Tom Hayden, without putting any opinion of his own directly on the line. Even more gross was the sight of Susan Sontag brigading herself with Zbigniew Brzezinski and Madeleine Albright, in terming this bombing campaign "a just war". Truly, a benchmark in the *trahison des clercs*.

Among those opposing the war was a man who has written finely about this same *trahison*, Edward Said. Noam Chomsky, as always, set Nato's claims to humanitarian motive in clarifying context. Peace groups rallied and by late May there was evidence of intense organizing across the country. Here at CounterPunch we found, as we so often do, heartening evidence of interesting coalitions. Many people visiting our website and subsequently calling us up are not from traditional left constituencies, but were delighted by our commentaries.

Wars are never stopped or even greatly inconvenienced in the law courts, but we should note that Clinton has had to face the suit brought by Tom Campbell, Republic rep from San Jose, charging Clinton with unconstitutional war-making, with the suit being filed for him, 23 other Republicans and two Democrats - Kucinich and Marcy Kaptur, also of Ohio - by the Center for Constitutional Rights. We should also note the complaints to the UN Security Council's Tribunal about war crimes by Nato leaders. We don't care for the Tribunal, which we see merely as a judicial errand boy for the Nato powers, but here we see a win-win. Either it will discredit itself by indicting only Milosevich or it will give us the enormous pleasure of seeing Clinton, Blair and the others accused of war crimes. Either way, it spells death to the public viability of the Tribunal.

Sandy Berger: The NSC's Ron Brown

While the press has stamped the airstrikes on Yugoslavia Albright's War, it's increasingly clear that the real maestro of the obliteration of Serbia has been Bill Clinton's National Security Adviser, Samuel "Sandy" Berger. An example. Bill Clinton recently said he learned most of what he knows about the history of the region from Robert Kaplan's dismal book, Balkan Ghosts. Berger gave Clinton that book about six months ago and has used it to help shape Clinton's thinking about how the war should be conducted.

The fleshy Berger graduated from Cornell in 1967 with a degree in international studies. He then went to law school at Harvard, graduating in 1970, and soon

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thereafter joined the staff of the US senator from Iowa, Harold Hughes. In 1971, Berger wrote a book-length exposé of the American Farm Bureau called Dollar Harvest. One admirer of the book was the populist from South Dakota, George McGovern, who brought Berger on to his presidential campaign staff as a speechwriter and a political advisor.

Many of Berger's associates from those days remember him as an idealist, passionate in his opposition to the war against Vietnam. "My impressions of Sandy from the McGovern campaign were positive, which is why I'm literally shocked to see what he hath wrought since he's been in power," former South Dakota Senator James Abourezsk tells CounterPunch.

After the McGovern campaign, Berger spent a year on the staff of New York mayor John Lindsay. But he soon traded in politics for a lucrative career as a Washington lawyer specializing in international trade. Berger joined the firm of Hogan and Hartson, one of the most powerful lobby shops in Washington, boasting more than 250 high-profile lawyers and lobbyists, many of them former government employees or members of congress. During Berger's tenure, the firm also housed Michael Barnes (former Democratic rep from Maryland), Frank Fahrenkopf (former chairman of the RNC), Robert Michel (long-suffering Republican minority leader of the House) and Clayton Yeutter (former Secretary of Agriculture and International Trade rep under George Bush).

"Sandy came out of the seventies hungering for the role of an insider, a player," says a former colleague on the McGovern campaign. "And he was just the kind of guy these new Democrats like Clinton and Gore needed. He still had a lot of residual credibility with liberals in the party, who remembered him from the McGovern campaign and his days with Senator Hughes, but most had lost track of him when he made his mark as a lobbyist. Of course, Sandy carefully hid the fact that he no longer shared their social and economic beliefs."

Berger worked at Hogan &Hartson from 1973 to 1976, when he was tapped by Jimmy Carter to become Deputy Director of Policy Planning at the State Department. At State, Berger developed something of a reputation as a hawk, often siding more with true cold warriors such as Carter's NSC advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski, than with his nominal boss Cyrus Vance. According to a former colleague, "Berger was cool toward the Sandinistas and hot on the Mujahidden".

After Carter suffered his defeat at the hands of Reagan, Berger returned to Hogan and Hartson as director of the firm's International Trade Group. He quickly built up a plump roster of clients, including British Petroleum, the Business Roundtable, China External Trade Association, Daimler-Benz, Enron, Genentech, GE, Glaxo, the government of Haiti, Monsanto, Toyota, US Sugar and Vulcan Chemicals. At Hogan and Hartson, Berger became an unrepentant free-trader, pushing the virtues of NAFTA and the World Trade Organization. ." He took good care to establish a presence as a regular contributor to the Wall Street Journal's editorial page, a quick way to foster a hawkish national security profile.

Berger carried this free-trade brief with him to the Clinton administration,

(**War Diary** *continued on page 9*)

Peace: Who Stands to Cash In?

With a peace deal in the works, the question immediately rises: who will stands ready to cash in? One good place to start is with the passenger list on that Air Force transport planed that crashed into a mountain near Dubrovnik, Croatia carrying Ron Brown and a coterie of corporate executives. Recall that Brown was visiting Bosnia and Croatia, promising to "rebuild" those war-torn areas with the help of Amercian corporations. Killed with Brown were top executives with AT&T, Parsons Corp. (the nation's fourth largest construction company, which earned billions rebuilding Kuwait's oil rigs), ABB (the power plant manufacturing firm), Bechtel, Riggs International Bank, Harza Engineering, Ensearch International, InterGuard and Foster Wheeler Energy. The group was described by Nicholas Fiore, head of the National Constructors Assocation, as "the finest collection of people in the telecommunications, energy, engineering and construction industries."

This is a pretty fair description of the type of contingent that will be soon heading for Yugoslavia, where the Nato-inflicted damage to the civilian infrastructure is estimated to be more than $136 billion. This includes powerplants, dams, oil refineries, water treatment facilities, bridges, telephone systems, pipelines, television and radio stations and transmitters, railroads, highways and every conceivable type of building, from high-rises to low-income housing. No doubt Al Gore will soon announce that each ethnic Albanian child should get a laptop and be hooked up to the Internet upon returning to a rebuilt and fully-wired Pristina, so that Bill Gates and Michael Dell can share in the coming frenzy.

The big question is who will reap more of the loot, US firms or the European Union. Already, the factions are elbowing each other for leverage. The EU, led by Joschka Fischer, the German Foreign Minister, is talking about a $100 billion rebuilding program for the Balkans. Fischer wants to creat a Balkan Development Bank to fund the reconstruction. But US is pushing for World Bank and IMF financing, over which they would have more control.

Kosovo itself is home to some of the most valuable mineral sites in Europe, with major lead, copper and coal reserves. The Danube is one of the most important transportation corridors in Europe and it's about to become much more valuable due to the coming oil bonanza in the Caspian Sea. US companies and speculators have all but given up on transporting the crude via a pipeline across Iran. The Balkan route, with Serbia pacificied, makes much more sense. There are some familiar faces with a stake in these riches, includingAlbright's patron Zbigniew Brzezinski and Clinton's former NSC advisor Anthony Lake—both of whom have landed lucrative positions "advising" oil companies on the Balkan question.

So it seems clear that Nato occupation of Kosovo isn't the only—or perhaps even the worse—thing the Serbs should be apprehensive about. In the long-run, the war has opened the door for the occupation of Yugoslavia by equally harsh entities, such as the World Bank, the IMF, and a long roster of multi-national corporations. ■

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Our Little Secrets

Waco Update: The Delta Force Was There

Amid Nato military supremo Wesley Clark's onslaught on the civilians of Serbia the question arose: did Clark hone his civilian-killing skills at Waco, where the FBI oversaw the largest single spasm of slaughter of civilians by law enforcement in US history, when nearly a hundred Branch Davidians died amid an assault by tanks, flame-throwers and snipers.

The tanks were from Fort Hood, where Wesley Clark was, in early 1993, commander of the Cavalry Division of the US Army's III Corps. In our last issue we cited a congressional report commissioned in the aftermath of Waco which described how Texas governor Anne Richards had consulted with Clark's number two at Fort Hood. Then, on April 14, there was a summit at the Justice Department in Washington, where Attorney General Janet Reno, top Justice Department and FBI officials and two unnamed senior Army officers reviewed the final assault plan scheduled for April 19.

The two Army officers at the Justice Department that day were Colonel Gerald Boykin, and his superior, Peter J. Schoomacher, the commanding general at Fort Bragg. Though Clark (who had served under Schoomacher) was not directly involved in the onslaught on the Branch Davidians, the role of the US Army in that affair throws into harsh relief the way prohibitions against the use of the US military for civilian law enforcement can be swiftly by-passed.

Boykin and Schoomacher were present because the Army's Fort Bragg-based Combat Applications Group-popularly known as the Delta Force-had been enlisted as part of the assault team on the Branch Davidian Compound. It appears that President Clinton had signed a waiver of the Posse Comitatus Act, with the precedent being Ronald Reagan's revocation of the Act in 1987, allowing the Delta Force to be involved in suppressing the Atlanta prison riot.

The role of the Delta Force, the identity of the two Army officers, the revocation of Posse Comitatus all form part of the disclosures of a forthcoming documentary film, Waco: A New Revelation, put together by the same team that produced an earlier, excellent film, Waco: Rules of Engagement. Following our questions about Wesley Clark's possible involvement at Waco, producer/researcher Mike McNulty called us with some details of his new documentary-directed by Jason van Bleet and due to be released in July.

After energetic use of Freedom of Information Act enquiries, plus research in three repositories in Texas holding evidence from the Waco inferno, plus other extensive investigations, McNulty and his team have put together an explosive file:

• 28 video tapes from the repositories show that in the final onslaught on the Waco compound were members of the US military in special assault gear and with name tags obscured. As noted above, Clinton's revocation of the Posse Comitatus Act made this presence legal. McNulty isolates Vince Foster as the White House point man for the Waco operation.

• McNulty cites Foster's widow as saying that the depression that prompted the White House lawyer's death was fueled by horror at the carnage at Waco for which the White House had given the ultimate green light. Foster was writing a Waco report when he died. McNulty says that some documents about Foster and Waco were among those removed from his office after his death, later to surface in a White house store room sheltering archives of the First Lady.

• The film, McNulty says, discloses how the federal assault team placed explosives on top of a compound bunker whither the feds believed the Branch Davidian leaders might flee. Material evidence collected by McNulty shows that the FBI/Delta assault force bombarded the compound with pyrophoric - i.e. fire-causing - projectiles.

Erosion of Posse Comitatus Act prohibitions on the involvement of the US military in law enforcement here is particularly sinister. The congressional report on Waco showed that some Army officers were extremely disturbed at requests for military assistance by the FBI, and there were some acrimonious exchanges at the time. The drug war, needless to say, has been a prime solvent in this process of erosion. One factor is the malign cross-fertilization occurring when these so-called "elite units" - the Army's Combat Application Group, the FBI's Hostage Rescue Team, the Navy's SEALs - all train together, along with SWAT teams from police forces across the country. Thousands of law enforcement officers have now cut their teeth on the homicidal commando techniques most flagrantly displayed by the killers assembled in the British SAS, members of which were also present at the Waco siege. The Rambo mindset now saturates law enforcement, and even the rangers in Fish and Game Departments now pack heat. Both CounterPunch editors have had the experience of being asked to down their fly rods and produce ID, by young Fish and Game rangers with semi-automatics on their hips.

Clinton followed Reagan's precedent in revoking the Posse Comitatus Act for the feds' attack on the Branch Davidians.

Nato in Greek

We have been watching the swelling international protests against Nato. Petros Evdokas, an editor of Oikologica magazine and a peace activist in Cyprus tells us that the most popular sign these days is the pun "ThaNatos Kills". "In Greece, especially Salonica, our friends and comrades go out and stop the tanks with their bodies, spray-painting them and leaving them stranded on blocked railroad tracks" Evdokas says . He adds that another popular tactic is "to change the street name signs, thereby misdirecting the ThaNatos tanks around to the farmers' market instead of the border".

Evdokas says that the war against Yugoslavia has brought a sense of solidarity in the national liberation struggles in the region, Kurdish, Balkan, Hellenic right to the forefront of popular daily discussion at the workplace, in the home and on the streets. "For us here, liberation means getting rid of the military occupation in the north of Cyprus and a peaceful re-union with our Turkish Cypriot neighbors, and this includes tossing out the British ThaNatos bases in the south, remnants of the

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British Empire, still armed to the teeth", Evdokas tells us. "The biggest challenge for us to confront will be the sickening call for ThaNatos to carry out the same obscene bombings to 'bring justice to Cyprus.'"

The White Castle

It now seems certain that the European Parliament will be paler than South Africa's under apartheid. So far only one black is in the running for a seat, Claude Morreas, of Britain. Morreas, who seems likely to win his seat, said he was shocked to find that he was the only person of any color other than white who had been nominated. "I will be outnumbered by neo-fascists who think I am subhuman," Morreas told the Independent. "The neo-Nazis will get seats because of proportional representation, but there are no black candidates in the rest of Europe. It is almost incredible." People are beginning to call this version of Fortress Europe, the White Castle.

AWOL from Albania?

Chris Sorochin, a CounterPuncher in Brooklyn, tells us of the momentous climax to a visit he recently paid to Hitler's mountain retreat, Berchtesgaden. As Chris and his companions stood surveying the vertiginous spectacle so savored by the Fuehrer, their attention was seized by a helicopter which rose to eye level, as the pilot surveyed them. Knowledgeable chopper buffs in Chris's party identified the helicopter as an Apache.

Recycle, Then Kill

As Nato airstrikes flatten oil refineries and shower depleted uranium across Yugoslavia, the US Army has mounted a gung-ho pr campaign touting its new sensitivity to the environment. The Army's green credo, "Sustaining the Land We Defend", is displayed in a glossy ad in Soldier magazine depicting an M-16 toting soldier, equipped with night-vision goggles, striding across the earth. The text of the ad proclaims: "The Army's ability to train effectively and meet the highest standards in service to America depends on your actions as soldiers today. By considering the environment in everything you do, you help sustain the Army's training lands, protect the nation's natural resources, and ensure a safe and healthy environment for fellow soldiers, their families and our civilian communities". The ad urges soldiers "to follow environmental guidelines" during drills because "readiness depends on healthy landscapes and training ranges".

In an era when many enlisted men are on food stamps, the Army tells soldiers to recycle at every opportunity, noting that it "lightens the load on America's landfills, decreases the Army's disposal costs and helps installations pay for quality of life programs". The Army, ever vigilant when it comes to fighting wasteful spending, notes that "preventing pollution reduces waste and save millions of dollars for readiness". Alas, the EPA's Toxic Release Inventory cites the Pentagon as being one of the top ten polluters in the nation. This is probably an gross understatement, since the Army is exempt from many reporting requirements and there is little legal recourse to compel the military to clean up its mess. When it comes to dump sites, no company comes close. A report by the Military Toxics Projects shows that there are more than 11,000 hazardous waste dumps at the Pentagon's 900-plus sites in the United States. Cleanup has taken place at less than 400 of the dumps. Somehow we don't think this is what Ed Abbey had in mind when he called for a new generation of eco-warriors.

Gephardt Goes Global

At CounterPunch we've known for a long time that Richard Gephardt is one of Washington's nimblest opportunists. When it was fashionable and served his interests, Gephardt played the role of Workers' Friend, taking to the floor of the House to launch stern attacks on NAFTA and the WTO. But now Gephardt has changed his tack. Like Jesse Jackson before him, Gephardt is trotting off to Wall Street, hat in hand. His message: you can't trust Republicans, because so many of them are isolationists. Gephardt urges corporate leaders to cross over to the Democrats, their most loyal representatives on on matters of global trade. And then Gephardt hits them up for large campaign contributions. As proof of Republican protectionism, Gephardt points to two examples: Republican opposition to the war and to the IMF.

Who Lost Los Alamos?

The Chinese have come up with a smashing rejoinder to the media hysteria surrounding the Cox Report's allegation that Chinese spies stole nuclear test secrets from Los Alamos and other DOE labs: the information was all on the Internet. "Performance data on the seven types of nuclear warheads...have long been openly published in the United States", said Zhao Qizheng a spokesman for the Chinese government. "They are no longer secrets, so there is nothing to steal." Zhao then fired up his computer and logged on to websites to prove his point, the Federation of American Scientists (http://www.fas.org) and the Natural Resources Defense Council (http://www.nrdc.org/nrdcpro/nudb/datab12.html). Both sites contain nuclear test data cited in the Cox Report as "stolen" by the Chinese.

At CounterPunch we yearn for the moment when MSNBC's portly bombing consultant William Arkin (who managed the NRDC site) is hauled before the House Government Affairs Committee and made submitted to the ordeal of questions by Rep. Dan Burton.

Whoops

In a recent item on the brass-lunged fraud from Vermont, Bernard Sanders, we slipped up in citing the name of the senator in whose office the Winooski 44 took up residence. It was Sen. Robert Stafford, not Jim Jeffords. Other CounterPunchers take us to task for misprints, most of which are not lethal. Rusty Norvell of Mendocino County detected a subversive "not", which negated the meaning of a sentence in our May 16-31 issue. The sentence intended to state that Peter Hakim of Inter-American Dialogue was arm in arm with one of the Rev Moon's top corporate generals. But it's no mistake when we tuck some quote marks inside the punctuation. This styling is a tribute to the old London Times style book (early Sixties vintage) which a CounterPunch co-editor was required to learn by heart in his capacity as subeditor on the Times Literary Supplement. We still recall an entry which began, "The Arabs have an unfortunate vagueness about their names..." ■

"I will be outnumbered by fascists who think I am subhuman", says European Union candidate Claude Morreas.

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Who NATO Killed

Since the Nato airstrikes began on March 24 Serb officials say more than 2,000 civilians have been killed and more than 7,500 wounded. Nato has owned up to bombing raids and missile attacks that have killed 460 civilians, according to a tally by Agence France-Presse. By all accounts, the bombing was indiscriminate, killing farmers, suburbanites, city dwellers, factory workers, reporters, diplomats, people in cars, busses and trains, hospital patients, the elderly and children. Indeed, by our count, Nato bombing raids have killed more than 200 children. Hundreds more will almost certainly perish in the coming months, through environmental factors, such as poisoned water supplies and lack of electrical power to run vital hospital equipment. The following list of civilian casualties is far from comprehensive. We compiled it from daily reports by the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry and wire services, including Agence France Presse, Reuters and AP.

Aleksinac

Five Nato missiles hit Aleksinac, a small mining community, on April 6. Seventeen civilians, taking shelter in a basement of a house, were all killed. Although there is no military presence in the residential area that was bombed, more than 400 homes were destroyed.

Ariljaca

Nato missiles hit Ariljaca, a small town outside Pristina, on April 28, killing two and injuring a dozen civilians.

Belgrade

Near midnight on June 1, 14 missiles destroyed a block of houses in a suburb of Belgrade killing 5 and injuring 20.

Around 1 a.m. on May 20, Nato cluster bombs hit "Dragisa Misovic" hospital in downtown Belgrade. The neurological ward, the maternity ward, the gynecological ward and the children's ward for lung diseases were destroyed. Nato later admitted that one of the laser guided bombs overshot its target by about 1,500 feet (460 meters).

During the attack 4 women were in active labor. A woman who, at the time of the attack, was having a Caesarean section, was also injured. She was transferred to the basement where her baby was finally delivered! In the attack 4 patients were killed, and several women in labor were wounded.

On May 8, Nato airstrikes hit the Chinese Embassy, destroying half of the building. According to the Chinese Government there were about 30 people in the building at the moment of the attack. Four Chinese citizens were killed and at least 20 injured.

On Friday, April 23, around 2 a.m., the building of the Serbian National Broadcasting Network was destroyed by Nato air strikes. The building is in the very center of Belgrade, a few hundred feet from a children's theater, St. Marko's Church, the City Childrens Center and the local market. More than 20 civilian employees of the TV station were killed.

On April 16, Milica Rakic, a three-year-old girl, was killed in the Nato attack on Batajnica, a residential suburb of Belgrade

The administrative center of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was hit several times. The building is in the very center of Belgrade, near the city hospital, which has the largest delivery ward in Belgrade. Several civilians, who were passing by the building at the time of the attack, were killed.

On April 13, a cluster bomb hit the Veterans Army Hospital in downtown Belgrade, injuring sixteen patients.

Bor

Six persons were wounded when Nato hit the electricity relay station at a mine site in Basin Bor on May 15.

Cacak

On May 5, Nato forces destroyed the Sloboda plant, the largest factory in Cacak. This factory produced domestic appliances and employed 5,000 workers. A residential area near the factory was also destroyed. Two persons were killed, one of them was a 74-year-old woman. Seven were injured.

Cuprija

On June 1, 2 civilians were killed and 9 wounded when Nato bombs destroyed more than 100 houses in the center of this small town.

Djakovica

On April 21 70 civilians died and 20 were injured in a refugee camp near Djakovica, home for more than 500 people evicted from Krajina (Croatia). The houses were completely destroyed. Just four years ago, more than 400,000 civilian Serbs were ethnically cleansed from the Krajina region by the Croatian government of Franjo Tudjman. There were 53 bomb craters at the site.

On April 19, seven missiles hit the same site, killing five and wounding 16.

Gnjilane

Nato attacked Gnjilane a number of times in May. There were dozens of civilian casualties. The City Hospital was hit and badly damaged.

Grdelica

Nato hit an international train, on regular service from Belgrade to Thessaloniki (Greece), in the vicinity of Leskovac on Monday, April 12. Sixty passengers were killed, including a 10 year-old child. More than 30 passengers were wounded. All casualties were civilians.

Gucevo

On April 23, Nato planes attacked this mountain ski resort, seriously injuring the manager of the complex.

Istok

On May 21, a prison in Istok was hit with two missiles, killing one man and seriously injuring one woman. The attack was repeated at 9:20 a.m. with ten missiles. The econd attack left nine people dead, including the deputy governor. At least 10 people were injured. Since then, Nato has bombed this prison several times. By June 1, the death toll had risen to 100..

Jagodina

On May 25, Nato attacked this agricultural village with five missiles. One struck a greenhouse killing a farmer and

"To compare Hitler with Milosevic is to overturn the relationship between the weak and the strong", said Régis Debray.

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wounding two workers.

Korisa

On the night of May 13, six Nato missiles struck a farm in the rural village of Korisa in Kosovo. In this attack, 87 Kosovo Albanians died. Kosovo Albanian Fehmi Ahmeta told Reuters that seven members of his family were killed. Journalists who visited the site described it as full of bodies, some of them still burning at the time of their visit. One journalist said said there was no trace of Nato's claim of a Serb military presence.

Kosare

On May 22, Nato was forced to admit that it had mistakenly bombed a KLA base in the border town of Kosare. KLA spokesmen said that 7 were killed and 15 wounded in the attack.

Kragujevac

Workers employed at the Zastava factory in Kragujevac used their bodies to "protect" the factory, a fact that was well known to Nato war planners. 120 workers were injured in an April 10 Nato assault on the factory. The Zastava automobile factory supported more than 50 percent of the citizens living in the Kragujevac area.

Kraljevo

On June 1, seven people were injured, three of them children, when four missiles hit the residential area of Sovljak.

Throughout May, Nato repeatedly targeted the town of Kraljevo, destroying its school and a hospital clinic. More than 20 civilians have been injured. A message on one of the bomb casings found at Kraljevo read, "Do You Still Want to Be a Serb Now?"

On April 29, one person was killed and 8 injured when a missile struck a public bus on the Goadcica Road.

Krusevac

Nato forces destroyed the "14th October" factory of construction machinery on April 11. A dozen workers were injured. The plant, which employed 6,000 workers, was demolished.

Kursumlija

On May 29, cluster bombs hit the Markovici housing complex, killing one and wounding two.

In two Nato attacks on Kursumlija in early May, 13 citizens were killed and more than 20 were injured.

"NATO's war is the infantilization of European politics", said Claude Lanzmann, director of Shoah.

On April 12, two missiles struck a residential area killing 6 and injuring 23. Among the dead: 11 month-old Bjonana Tosovic and her father Boris.

Labane

On June 1, two people were killed and one critically injured when Nato planes attacked the Cenovacki Bridge over the Jablanica River.

Lipljan

On April 26, Arla Lujic, a six year-old girl, was killed and her brother and sister seriously injured by a Nato cluster bomb. Her father, Sacir Lujic, said, "We were at home in the center of the village and the children were playing in the yard when we heard a powerful blast. We didn't know if it was a Nato plane that fell down or a bomb. Children are not guilty at all."

Luzane

May 1, Nato planes attacked a bridge in Luzane (12 miles from Pristina), hitting the "Nis Express" bus on its regular service linking Nis and Pristina. There were about 70 passengers on the bus. A missile hit the bus directly and split it in two. One half remained on the bridge burning for an hour, while the other half plunged into the valley. Bodies were scattered over a wide area. Forty-seven people were killed.

They attacked again 25 minutes later, when an ambulance vehicle was damaged and one medical doctor was seriously wounded in the head. One of the Luzane inhabitants, who eyewitnessed the attack, said the bus was filled with civilians, mostly old people and children and that he could hear them crying for help from the bus wreckage after the attack.

Merdare

Nato planes dropped cluster bombs on the home of the Tosic family, in the small village of Merdare, located between Kursumlija and Podujevo. An eleven-month-old baby girl was among the Merdare victims. Her mother, in the ninth month of pregnancy, was injured. The father was killed.

Murino

On May 1, the small Montenegrin village of Murino was bombed with 10 missiles. Orhan Redzepagic, the mayor of the remote mountain commune of Plav, said that four civilians were killed including two young girls, refugees from Pristina, who were hit directly and blown into pieces. The other two dead were a man and a woman. Eight people suffered injuries.

Nis

On June 1, Dusan Mancic and his wife Vukosava were killed and their three grandchildren were injured when their house was destroyed by Nato missiles.

On May 7, 1999, 15 people were killed and 70 injured when cluster bombs fell on the town market.

On April 19 one civilian was killed and 11 wounded went Nato missiles destroyed 10 homes in the Bujuriska housing complex.

Novi Sad

Nato attacked an oil refinery in Novi Sad more than 10 times. A thick cloud of benzene-laden smoke hangs over the city and water from the public water supply is no longer drinkable.

Several residential areas in the suburbs of Novi Sad were demolished. As of June 1 there are more than 100 seriously wounded civilians in Novi Sad.

Novi Pazar

On May 31, six Nato cluster bombs hit a four-storey apartment complex in the center of town killing 23 and injuring 20.

On April 23, four people were injured when a Nato missile struck a Red Cross soup kitchen. Later that same day, one person was killed and two injured when missiles hit the Novi Pazar medical center, which housed one of Europe's largest treatment facilities for muscular dystrophy.

Novi Varos

Four workers were seriously wounded on April 18 when two Nato bombs struck a hydroelectric plant on the Bistrica River.

Pancevo

One May 1, Nato missiles destroyed a chemical plant which produces fertilizers. Seven workers were injured. The entire residential quarter near the factory was

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evacuated because of the danger of intoxication by poisonous gases released due to the damage inflicted to the building and the fire that consequently broke out.

Nato forces have repeadedly hit the power plant in the Pancevo petroleum refinery complex, which supplied electricity and gas. The refinery was attacked on several more occasions. A huge amount of toxic material was spilled into the Danube River, which flows all the way from Germany to the Black Sea. An April 3 strike on the plant killed two people and injured 17.

Paracin

On May 12, a dozen houses in Paracin were destroyed, one person was killed and five injured.

Pristina

On May 30, one person was killed and six wounded when missiles destroyed their cars at the entrance tunnel outside Pristina.

Five Nato cluster bombs destroyed a largely residential area of Pristina called Grinija, killing Branko Gudzic, the head of technical services for the Provincial Executive Council of Kosovo. Two of his colleagues were seriously wounded.

On April 12, a missile struck a Ford Escort on the Pristina-Polje Road, killing two and seriously injuring one.

On April 9, Nato destroyed a residential area in downtown Pristina, killing five members of the Gasi family as they hid in the basement of their house. Nato admitted it may have hit houses when its missiles overshot the Pristina telephone exchange.

Prizren-Djakovica

In the early afternoon hours on April 14, 1999, a convoy of Albanian refugees was bombed four times by Nato planes. The refugees were moving down Prizren-Djakovica road, mostly on foot, or in tractor trailers. At least 75 people were killed, 100 wounded. All of the victims were Albanians, mostly children, women and elderly people. Since the attack was carried out in daylight, considering that the convoy consisted mostly of agricultural vehicles and civilian cars, and that the attack was repeated four times with long periods of time between them, possibility of this attack being accidental is very unlikely.

Sabac

On May 25 Nato planes struck this small town with five cluster bombs, destroying a school and an apartment com plex. One person died and four were wounded in the attack.

Savine Vode

On May 3, , during the Nato attack on Savine Vode a civilian bus on the Djakovica-Podgorica Road was hit. At least 20 persons were killed, 43 were injured (23 suffered serious injuries). There were large numbers of women and children among the victims. Rescue teams and ambulance cars weren't able to help the victims due to the prolonged attack.

Sremska Mitrovica

On June 1, 200 homes were obliterated by four cluster bombs, killing five civilians and hurting more than a dozen.

On May 2 Nato bombs destroyed residential areas in the town of Sremska Mitrovica killing four and injuring 10.

Subotica

On Friday, April 16, Nato planes attacked the city of Subotica for the first time. Subotica lies on the border with Hungary, over 350 miles from Kosovo. About 70 percent of Subotica's population are Hungarian. A entire block in the residential quarter of the city was demolished by Nato planes. All destroyed buildings were civilian. Two died in the attack and 15 were wounded.

Surdulica

On May 30, 20 patients in a sanitarium and retirement home complex where killed when the buildings were destroyed by five Nato missiles.

Two Nato missiles hit civilian structures in the center of Surdulica on April 27 between 12 and 12:30 p.m. A CNN reporter counted 16 civilian bodies at the scene;11 of the victims were children between 5 and 12 years of age. Three days after the attack bodies were still being taken out of the smoldering ruins.

Trstenik

On April 29, Nato missiles attacked a bridge in Trstenik, killing a woman who was crossing the bridge on her bike and wounding 17 others.

Urosevac

A residential suburb of Urosevac was demolished in a Nato attack. Six people were killed.

Uzice

On May 30, missiles struck near the post office in downtown Uzice for the fifth time, killing two civilians.

Vajevo

The June 1 airstrike on Vajevo marked the thirty-first time Nato planes had attacked this manufacturing center. A dozen fatalities have resulted from the more than 200 missiles that have hit the city and the outlaying Krusik factory.

On May 6, several buildings in the densely populated residential area of Valjevo were damaged in a Nato strike. Among them are: the City Hospital, an agriculture secondary school, a railway station and several apartment buildings. Ten people were wounded in the strike.

Varvarin

Nato planes took out a bridge in this central Serbian city, killing 11 people who were crossing in their cars when the missiles hit.

Vranje

On June 1, ten civilians were seriouly wounded when four bombs exploded in the historical district of this town.

On May 15, a residential suburb was badly damaged as a result of Nato attacks. Two people were killed while working in the field near the town. Irena, a 16-year-old girl, died from a skull fracture caused by shrapnel from a Nato missile. Her father was seriously injured. An older woman died in the assault as well.

On April 13, two people were killed, including 14 year-old Milica Stojanovic, and one person was critically wounded when missiles hit a residential suburb of Vranje called Pavjovac. ■

"I don't see any difference in the behavior of NATO and of Hitler. NATO wants to erect its own order in the world: 'We'll punish Yugoslavia, and the whole rest of the planet will tremble'", said Alexander Solzhenitsyn.

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(**War Diary** *continued from page 3*)

first as a key member of the Clinton transition team and then as deputy director of the NSC. No one has been more diligent in dusting off the Reagan-era approach of "constructive engagement" than Berger. He has done everything he could to by-pass human rights concerns in China and Indonesia in order to seal lucrative business deals there, often benefiting some of his former clients. "He's the Ron Brown of the NSC", says a House staffer for a Democratic congressman.

Berger has been something of a smoldering malcontent inside the Administration. He was extremely disappointed that Tony Lake was picked ahead of him as NSC adviser, apparently at the suggestion of Mickey Kantor and Vernon Jordan (who worked at rival law firms in DC). But Berger was soothed with the promise that he would soon ascend to the top NSC slot because Clinton planned to replace James Woolsey as CIA director with Lake. But Woolsey's spot was taken by John Deutch, and Lake remained at NSC until 1997 when he lost his bid to replace Deutch after failing to disclose his holdings in oil companies doing business in the Balkans and former Soviet Republics.

Berger was furious that Madeleine Albright, whom he reportedly parodies—with malevolence—at parties, was tapped ahead of him as Secretary of State, a decision he blames on the interference of the First Lady.

A staffer on the Senate Foreign relations committee tells us that the two most influential voices in the administration on Yugoslavia are Berger and Assistant Secretary of State Strobe Talbott. But as National Security Adviser Berger has the President's ear on a daily basis. "Berger tends to hoard information, like Kissinger", the staffer said. "He knows information is power and he uses it against his rivals from State and Defense and to curry favor with the President."

Berger has a savage temper. But he rarely lets it show a cabinet meetings or with the press. "It's Sandy's staffers who pay the price, even the secretaries get abused over there," the senate staffer told us. "His dealings with congressional staffers is similar. It's as if he condescends to be there. There's no question Berger thinks he has few intellectual equals and he wastes little time in letting you know that."

Berger, who chafes at the comparisons to Kissinger, continues to resist the calls from Albright and Gen. Wesley Clark for a ground war, a position that has earned him even more power with Clinton. Neither Berger or Clinton want the final chapter of this administration to have any echoes of Vietnam. So they lurched into the Cambodia option, an illegal and ever-escalating bombing war.

First Pick Your War Criminal

As the bombing campaign slumped in popularity—in one poll 82 percent of Americans wanted a bombing pause—Nato's propagandists desperately sought for ways to jack up public appetite for destroying Serbia. They lunged once more for the Slobo-as-Hitler option. The supposedly independent Tribunal for war crimes in the former Yugoslavia obediently came across with an indictment of Milosevic, shoving under the carpet any scrutiny of Croatia's Tudjman in the eviction of Serbs in the Krajina in the mid-1990s, the largest single ethnic purge in the Balkans and one promoted and abetted by the United States.

Compared to Bill Clinton and his accomplices Slobo is a piker when it comes to war crimes. Take Iraq. The sanctions imposed by the United States in 1991 have had a notoriously devastating effect on Iraq's civilian population, particularly the children.

By the end of 1995 alone the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization said that after careful investigation it had determined that as many as 576,000 Iraqi children have died as a result of sanctions. Using figures from Iraq's Ministry of Health the World Health Organization estimated that 90,000 Iraqis were dying every year in Iraq's hospitals, over and above those who would have expired at the normal rate.

In sum, it is beyond argument that the United States has engineered a program of enforced scarcity that has caused the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Iraqi civilians.

In the final months of World War II the Nazis tried to delay the advance of the Allies by opening the dikes in Holland. The man issuing this order was the German high commissioner in Holland, Seyss-Inquart. By the end of 1944 about 500,000 acres of land had been flooded, leading to what historian Gabriel Kolko called "the most precipitous decline in food consumption any West European country suffered during the war." Of the 195 Nazis indicted at Nuremberg, Seyss-Inquart was one of 24 sentenced to death.

Back in Nuremberg time, Albright and her commanding officer Clinton would have been hanged, if they had been on the losing side.

We don't have the trial transcript to hand, but no doubt Seyss-Inquart was asked why he had opened the dikes. Perhaps he answered in the same words as Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. In 1996 Albright was asked on CBS' 60 Minutes by Lesley Stahl the following question: "We have heard that half a million children have died [in Iraq]. I mean, that's more children than died in Hiroshima. And you know, is the price worth it?" The repulsive Albright famously replied, "I think this is a very hard choice, but the price, we think the price is worth it."

So, back in Nuremberg time, Albright would certainly have been hanged, if the standards applied to Seyss-Inquart had

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been leveled against her, and if she had been on the losing side. So would her commanding officer, Bill Clinton.

The protocols of the Geneva Convention of 1949 prohibit bombing not justified by clear military necessity. If there is any likelihood the target has a civilian function, then bombing is prohibited. In other words the vast majority of Nato targets have been criminally attacked.

Nato is waging war on Serbian civilians, and Kosovar civilians for that matter. If Milosevic goes on trial before the Tribunal in the Hague, Clinton, Albright and Defense Secretary William Cohen should have their place on the court's calendar too.

And they may conceivably face that fate. Under the terms of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia - a body set up by the UN security council in 1993 - anyone can file formal complaints for the Tribunal's prosecutor, Justice Louise Arbour, to consider within the terms of the Geneva Conventions. Thus far there have been three serious requests for investigation and indictment against the Nato leaders for their conduct against Serbia. Lawyers in Canada, Britain and France are now working together. Already the Canadian team has sent Arbour in the Hague requests for indictment against 67 persons for war crimes, said persons ranging from Bill Clinton to Nato spokesman Jamie Shea, whom Canadian lawyer Michael Mandel likened in role to William Joyce a.k.a. Lord Haw-Haw, a propagandist for the Nazis hanged by the Allies at the end of World War II.

Prof. Mandel, who teaches law at Osgood Hall law school at York University in Toronto (of which coincidentally, Louis Arbour is an alumna) says "we have a great case. It will be a good test to see whether the law actually applies to powerful people." Among the indictable war crimes in the complaint and request for indictment prepared by the Canadian lawyers are: the wanton destruction of cities, towns and villages, and kindred devastation, not caused by military necessity: the bombardment of undefended towns; the wilful destruction of, or wilful damage done to institutions dedicated to religion, charity or education (i.e., monasteries, hospitals and schools, all hit by Nato's bombs). "They've admitted publicly the essentials of all these crimes", Mandel says.

Illegal War

The law requires that within 60 days the president must terminate such use of force unless he gets explicit authority from both houses. The 60-day period expired on May 25, with Clinton still unfurnished with such authority. Indeed the House of Representatives explicitly withheld it in the tied 213-213 vote of April 28, when Dennis Kucinich, Democratic rep from Ohio, led 25 fellow Democrats into a coalition with Republicans. Clinton had been intending to use that House vote as authorization not merely for bombing but for further military escalation.

Hours before Congress recessed for the Memorial Day holiday, House opponents of the war on Serbia dealt the administration another stinging defeat. House leaders had been planning to eliminate a provision in the $300 billion defense authorization bill that would have blocked funds for the war after October. But amid furious objections from both Republicans and Democrats allied with Kucinich, the leadership on both sides of the aisle realized this tactic wouldn't fly and abruptly withdrew the entire authorization bill for two weeks.

So once again Clinton has no congressional authorization, and it's possible that a federal judge will respond to the suit brought by Tom Campbell, a Republican rep from San Jose, along with several Republicans and two Democrats (Kucinich and another Ohio rep, Marcy Kaptur) by declaring that Clinton is acting unconstitutionally. Then the House could impeach him.

It would be wonderful to have Clinton shuttling between an impeachment trial in the Senate and the war criminals' dock in the Hague. ■

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